113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622

Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

/12 cont'd/
161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the family register of the Lin family:

"Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname, who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from till-
241 ing the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation
[34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh
166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas
245 may be seen occasionally.

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the 121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. [71] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 592] There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several [361 311] families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, 622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

Kweichow is considered the poorest agricultural province in all China. Much of the soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give but little space for farms, which are therefore usually small and cultivated by simple methods. Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland plains, the few open valleys and terraced hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of soil, slope, and water. The total area of cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at five per cent. At one time the chief crop was opium, but the Chinese Government has tried to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One geographer lists in order of second importance maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo, wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton, hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans, wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may be said that rice is grown wherever possible and there forms the staple food. In the poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot be grown, the people depend upon maize, barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September or October. Winter crops commonly include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape. There is a variety of excellent vegetables grown through the year. Fruits of the province include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons, oranges, and lemons. There are also large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves are thought to remain in Kweichow. The bambo trees are of several species, some suitable for construction and the making of articles of common household use and huge rain hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in the northern part of the province has industries for the making of a kind of cheap silk cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas, and cotton goods. The villages of

311 [134] 245 137 288

[5a]

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

241 412 handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it [311] cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

342 The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.[6]

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

762 There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzŭ* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home for a flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 361 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass — usual legacy of Meo occupation — was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin — the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet — to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 181 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie — like those of the Mois — demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst] 282

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

248 The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

231 The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose honey is used in cake-making.

244 They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

412 The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
407 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest, large scythes and billhooks are used.

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Manzace. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the so phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or